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Introduction

The *Pañcamahāyajña*-s are the five obligatory rites to be performed daily by a householder according to ancient Indian tradition. Their efficacy is extolled by many works on *Dharmaśāstra* and the *Smṛti*-s². Their obligatory nature is also emphasized by pointing out the undesirable consequences of eschewing them³. We get references and injunctions to their performance in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts. The tradition is continued even today by orthodox Brahmins.

The five yajña-s or sacrifices are

- 1. Devayajña
- 2. Pitryajña
- 3. Bhūtayajña

¹ Paper presented in the 17th World Sanskrit Conference held in the University of British Columbia, July 9 to 13, 2018(Vedic section).

i) तासां क्रमेण सर्वासां निष्कृत्यर्थं महर्षिभिः। पञ्च क्लृप्ता महायज्ञाः प्रत्यहं गृहमेधिनाम्।। - Manusmṛti 6.69;

ii) देवभूतिपतृब्रह्ममनुष्याणामनुक्रमात्। महासत्राणि जानीयात्त एव हि महामखाः।। अध्यापनं ब्रह्मयज्ञः पितृयज्ञस्तु तर्पणम्। होमो दैवो बिलभौतो नृयज्ञोऽतिथिपूजनम्।। (Karmapradipa quoted in Mṛdulā commentary on Gobhilagṛhyasūtra).

Gautama the author of *Dharmasūtra* includes these in his list of 48 samskāra-s (गर्भाधानपुंसवनसीमन्तोन्नयन जातकर्म नामकरण अन्नप्राशन चौळोपनयनम्। चत्वारि वेदव्रतानि। सहधर्मचारिणीसंयोगः। पञ्चानां यज्ञानामनुष्ठानं देविपतृमनुष्यभूतब्रह्मणाम्। अष्टका पार्वणः श्राद्धं श्रावण्याग्रहायणी चैत्र्याश्वयूजीति सप्त पाकयज्ञसंस्थाः। अग्न्याधेयमग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासावाग्रयणं चातूर्मास्यानि निरूढपशुबन्धः सौत्रामणीति सप्त हविर्यज्ञसंस्थाः। अग्निष्टोमोऽत्यग्निष्टाम उक्थ्यः षोडशी वाजपेयोऽतिरात्रोऽप्तोर्याम इति सप्त सोमसंस्थाः। इत्येते चत्वारिंशत् अथाष्टावात्मगुणाः। मङगलमकार्पण्यमस्पृहेति। सर्वभूतेषु क्षान्तिरनसूया शौचमनायासो संस्कारा:। $Gautamadharmas \overline{u}tra - 1.8. 14-24$).

³ See for instance एतेभ्यो यस्य पञ्चभ्यो यज्ञ एकोपि हीयते। मनस्वत्याहुतिस्तस्य प्रायश्चित्तं विधीयते। - Bhāradvājagṛhyasūtra 3.25;

देवतातिथिभृत्यानां पितृणामात्मनश्च यः। न निर्वपति पञ्चानामुच्छ्वसन्न स जीवति। - Manusmṛti 6.68.

² See for instance

4. Manusyayajña, and the

5. Brahmayajña.

Devayajña is propitiating gods by offering oblations into fire. Pitṛyajña is propitiating the pitṛ-s by offering tarpaṇa (oblations mostly in the form of water, and desirably in the form of piṇḍa-s). Bhūtayajña is propitiating the animals and other living beings, including good and evil spirits by way of food-offerings. Manuṣyayajña is feeding human beings, especially Brahmins. Brahmayajña is the ritualistic recitation of Veda-s.

A close study of the origin of this concept of pentad of sacrifices and the variations and transformations that have come into existence in their performance will certainly be rewarding for a serious student of the ritualistic tradition of India. Here in this paper, an attempt is made to focus on some of the interesting and intricate aspects in these lines which need further deliberation.

Rnatraya and the Vaisvadeva

The origin of the concept seems to be closely associated with two other concepts viz. the triad of debts (rnatraya) and the Vaiśvadeva rite. The concept that a Brahmin is born with three debts which he owes to the rsi-s, to the gods and to the pitr-s which might have originated during the formation of later Vedic texts and the Brāhmana-s, reappears in the epics, purāna-s and even in the classical Sanskrit literature. The Taittiriya Samhitā has this passage जायमानो वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिरुऋणवा जायते। ब्रह्मचर्येणर्षिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितभ्यः। (6.3.10.5) (a Brahmin, at birth itself, has three debts – those of brahmacarya to the rsi-s, yajña to the gods and progeny to the pitr-s). By performing brahmacarya, he repays his debt to the rsi-s; by performing sacrifices (ritualistic offerings into the fire) the debt to the gods; and by begetting progeny the debt to the pitr-s. That is, one has to appease these three groups. For appeasing gods, it has always been held in the Vedic lore, the performance of yajña is the best means⁴. For appearing the lineage of sages and seers who have been the torchbearers of the intellectual and cultural legacy (i.e. the rsi-s), the best means would be imbibing, improving and furthering the values, principles and ideals cherished by them. For appearing pitr-s two means are usually suggested by tradition. One is feeding learned Brahmins and the other is offering pinda and / or water-oblations. Thus the ceremony of śrāddha has three

⁴ Yajña is often defined as sacrificing things in favour of gods — देवतोद्देश्येन द्रव्यत्यागः.

elements viz. feeding learned Brahmins, pindapradāna and tarpaṇa. The pindapradāna rite in the śrāddha is adopted from the pindapitryajña of the śrauta tradition. Now in order to continue this tradition of offering pinda and tarpaṇa to the deceased forefathers uninterruptedly, one has to beget progeny. That is why begetting progeny is said to appease pitr-s.

The Vaiśvadeva is an obligatory rite to be performed by a householder. It has three components. One is offering rice-oblations into fire for the benefit of prescribed gods. The second is food-offerings made on the floor (not into fire, to be more specific) to different spirits and living beings. The third is offerings to the pitr-s. This rite has been prescribed by texts belonging to the Kalpasūtra class of literature and Smrti-s. Many a text on this rite, prescribe feeding the guest (atithibhojana) at the end. This feeding of guest is manuṣyayajña (Some texts enjoin that it is feeding guest in general whereas others specify that it is a Brahmin who is to be fed h. Thus we can see that the Vaiśvadeva comprises the essential features of the four (of the pentad) of great sacrifices (pañcamahāyajña-s) viz. the devayajña, bhūtayajña, pitṛyajña and manuṣyayajña. All these four have a common feature. The food utilized in these rites, is prepared in the domestic fire of the sacrificer or the householder. And some texts prescribe the fifth great sacrifice, i.e. the brahmayajña too to be performed sitting near the domestic fire, thus associating it with the fire (grhyāgni).

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⁵ Offering of *piṇḍa*-s (rice balls) for three generations of deceased ancestors viz. one's father, his father, and his grandfather. For females also it is offered — the wives of the first said. Actually this rite has its roots in the śrauta tradition of piṇḍapitṛyajña. Also see the passages like देवान् भावयतानेन ते देवा भावयन्तु वः । परस्परं भावयन्तः श्रेयः परमवाप्स्यथ।। (Bhagavadgitā 3.11)

⁶ दद्यादहरहः श्राद्धमन्नाद्येनोदकेन च। (Manusmṛti 3.82); यदेव तर्पयत्यिद्भः पितृन् ध्यात्वा द्विजोत्तमः। तेनैव कृत्स्नमाप्नोति पितृयज्ञिक्रयाफलम्।। (Manusmṛti 3.283)

⁷ See for instance *Manusmṛti* 3.84, *Apastambadharmasūtra* 2.2.1, *Baudhāyanagṛhyasūtra* 2.9.1, *Bhāradvājagṛhyasūtra* 3.12-14, *Mānavagṛhyasūtra* 2.12.1, *Apastambagṛhyasūtra* 3.7.27

⁸ Baudhayānagṛhyasūtra for instance has that it is Brahmins to be fed in the manuṣyayajña. - यद् ब्राह्मणेभ्योत्रं ददाति स मनुष्ययज्ञ इति।

⁹ Bhāradvāja and Baudhāyana prescribe that one should do *brahmayajña* sitting near, on the western side, of fireplace (fire). Bhāradvāja in his *Gṛḥyasūtra* states: अपरेण गार्हपत्यमुपिवश्याधीहि भो इत्युक्त्वा सावित्रींयदधीते स ब्रह्मयज्ञः (३.१५). Baudhāyana also in a similar vein states: जघनेन गार्हपत्यमुपिवश्यौपासनस्य वा अधीहि भो इति गार्हपत्यमुक्त्वा प्राणायामैस्त्रिभरायम्य सावित्रीं सहस्रकृत्व आवर्त्तयेच्छतकृत्वोऽपरिमितकृत्वो वा दशावरम्। वेदादयश्छन्दांसि कूश्माण्डानि चाधीयीत - अग्निमीळे पुरोहितमित्यृग्वेदस्येषे

The Vaiśvadeva and the pañcamahāyajña

The later texts like the commentaries and the *Nibandha* works discuss whether the rites of *Vaiśvadeva* and *pañcamahāyajña* are one and the same or not. In the *Manusmṛti* the *Vaiśvadeva* rite is described in the midst of the instructions on *pañcamahāyajña*. Manu ordains that one should perform all the domestic rites and the *pañcamahāyajña* with the *vaivāhikāgni* (ritualistic fire established in the marriage rite). His statement runs as

वैवाहिकेऽग्नौ कुर्वीत गृह्यं कर्म यथाविधि। पञ्चयज्ञविधानं च पिक्तं चान्वाहिकीं गृही।। (६.६७).

We can see that he puts $pa\tilde{n}camah\bar{a}yaj\tilde{n}a$, and the rites with food cooked in the domestic fire, together to form one group. After stating in brief the nature of the components of $pa\tilde{n}camah\bar{a}yaj\tilde{n}a$ and extolling their efficacy, immediately he goes on to prescribe homas to be offered in the $devayaj\tilde{n}a$ of the vaiśvadeva, proceeding further with the baliharaṇa and $atithip\bar{u}jana^{10}$. Thus he treats the five great sacrifices as part of the vaiśvadeva rite. Kullūkabhaṭṭa takes it the other way round. For him vaiśvadeva is a part of the five great sacrifices. Commenting on the above verse of Manu, he says: 'One should perform, in that fire, the domestic rites viz. morning and evening offerings, $aṣṭak\bar{a}homa$ etc., the vaiśvadeva rites which are ordained to be done as part of the $pa\tilde{n}camah\bar{a}yaj\tilde{n}a$ -s, and the $pa\bar{k}ayaj\tilde{n}a$ -s', 11.

The authors of $Grhyas\bar{u}tra$ -s and $Dharmas\bar{u}tra$ -s treat these two rites in different contexts. Commentators seem to be confused as to whether these two are identical or not. Nārāyaṇa, a commentator on the \overline{A} śvalāyanagrhyas $\overline{u}tra$ says categorically that the $pa\tilde{n}camah\bar{a}yaj\tilde{n}a$ -s are nothing but the vaiśvadeva. He even cites Manu. He states that Manu has explained the four of the five sacrifices (omitting the pitryaj $\tilde{n}a$) as part of the vai\$vadeva 12. Sudar\$anācārya, on the contrary, states in his commentary on

त्वोर्जे त्वेति यजुर्वेदस्याग्न आयाहि वीतय इति सामवेदस्य शन्नो देवीरभिष्टय इत्यथर्ववेदस्याग्निर्मूर्धेति छन्दांसि यद्देवा देवहेळनिमति कूश्माण्ड्यः। यदधीते स ब्रह्मयज्ञः।

It may be noted that *brahmayajña*, is usually prescribed to be performed outside the residential area. See the section *Brahmayajña*, the latest addition to the group.

¹¹ तस्मित्रग्नौ गृह्योक्तं कर्म सायम्प्रातर्होमाष्टकादि यथाशास्त्रमग्निसम्पाद्यं च पञ्चमहायज्ञान्तर्गतवैश्वदेवाद्यनुष्ठाानं च पाकयज्ञं गृहस्थः कुर्यात्। (*Manusmṛti* p.90, Nirnayasagar Ed. 1901)

¹⁰ See *Manusmṛti* 6. 84 - 94.

¹² तस्माद्वैश्वदेवादय एव पञ्चयज्ञा इति सिद्धम्। मनुनाप्येवमेवोक्तं पितृयज्ञवर्जम्। (Commentary on Aśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra 1.1.3. This sūtra appears in the section on pañcamahāyajña.)

 \overline{A} pastambagṛhyas \overline{u} tra (7.3.27) that the vaiśvadeva and pañcamah \overline{a} yajña are distinctly two rites. Quoting the relevant passage from Haradatta's (famous commentator of Gṛhyas \overline{u} tra-s and Dharmas \overline{u} tra-s) commentary (on \overline{A} pastambagṛhyas \overline{u} tra 7.3.27) stating that vaiśvadeva and pañcamah \overline{a} yajña are identical, he categorically refutes it 13 .

It seems that the custom of practising some components of these two rites, like those of propitiating the gods by homa (devayajña) and appeasing animals, plants, and other spirits (bhūtayajña), were prevalent even before the concept of vaiśvadeva and pañcamahāyajña originated. The confusion regarding how to reconcile these two concepts (vaiśvadeva and pañcamahāyajña) persisted for a long time which is reflected in the exegetic literature.

Haradatta in his commentary on \overline{A} pastambadharmas \overline{u} tra 1.4.13.1, records some of such disputes and confusion prevailing among the practitioners. He points out to the view held by some that the \overline{a} huti-s prescribed as part of devayaj \overline{n} a as a separate rite from that of vaiśvadeva. He explicitly expresses his opinion against this stand. He takes the pa \overline{n} camah \overline{a} yaj \overline{n} a-s as a part of vaiśvadeva. Further he states that there is dispute regarding whether the vaiśvadeva is a sa \overline{n} sk \overline{a} ra meant for the person, or for the food. Some people maintain that if somebody avoids meals, he need not perform vaiśvadeva, as it is a sa \overline{n} sk \overline{a} ra meant for the food, he says \overline{n} 5. Aṣṭ \overline{a} vakra also, in his commentary on \overline{n} 5. Aṣṭ \overline{a} vakra also, in his commentary on \overline{n} 5.

He records of the discrepancy between the prescription in the text and the actual practice. He says that the performing order of the *pañcamahāyajña*-s, as is given by Apastamba, differs from that of actual practice (न चायमुपदेशक्रमोऽनुष्ठान उपयुज्यते। अनुष्ठानं तु

¹³ केचित् - वैश्वदेवे विश्वदेवा देवता विधीयन्ते निर्वापकाले सङ्कल्पार्थम्, ईशानयज्ञवत्। ... इदं च वैश्वदेवं पञ्चमहायज्ञेभ्यः पृथग्भूतम्। ... तन्न पञ्चमहायज्ञेभ्यो न पृथग्वैश्वदेविमत्यिप नः प्रकरणान्तरात्संज्ञाभेदाच्च कर्मभेदावगतेः। (*Āpastambagṛhyasūtra*, Oriental research Institute, Mysore, 1987)

¹⁴ वैश्वदेवोक्तप्रकारेणैवैष देवयज्ञः। केचिद् वैश्वदेवाहुतीभ्यः पृथग्भूतामिमामाहुतिं मन्यन्ते। देवेभ्यः स्वाहेति च मन्त्रमिच्छन्ति। देवयज्ञेन यक्ष्य इति सङ्कल्पमिच्छन्ति। वयं तु न तथेति गृह्य एवावोचाम।

¹⁵ केचिदाहुः - आकाष्ठादिति वचनादशनीयाभावेन भोजनलोपेऽपि यथाकथञ्चिद् वैश्वदेवं कर्तव्यम्। पुरुषसंस्कारत्वादिति। अपरे तु - अशनीयसंस्कार इति वदन्तो भोजनलोपे वैश्वदेवं न कर्तव्यमिति स्थिताः।

नक्तं सायमुपक्रमवशाद् वैश्वदेवहोममन्नसंस्कारं केचिदिच्छन्ति। तस्मात् पुरुषसंस्कारार्थतैवेति सिद्धम्। Mānavagṛhyasūtra Ed. B. C. Lele, PANINI, New Delhi, pp. 172,173

ब्रह्मयज्ञो देवयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो भूतयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञ इति।). This difference of opinion regarding the order of the pañcamahāyajña-s can be seen right from the Brāhmana texts¹⁷.

Another similar development can be seen in the attempt of connecting the pañcamahāyajña-s with pākayajña-s. Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra begins with the statement that there are three pākayajña-s (1.1.2). In the next sentence an attempt is made to include all kinds of rites discussed in the Gṛḥyasūtra-s in these three. Huta, prahuta and brahmaṇi huta are the three. Huta comprises all the rites wherein offerings are made into fire. Prahuta on the other hand comprises all rites wherein offerings are not made into fire. Brahmaṇi huta are those in which Brahmins are fed¹⁸. Baudhāyana, in a similar manner, classifies all the domestic rites into seven heads in his gṛḥyasūtra. The seven heads are huta, prahuta, āhuta, śūlagava, baliharaṇa, pratyavarohaṇa and aṣṭakāhoma. Thus we can see a phase of confusion which led to the tendency to readjust and formulate new schemes of domestic rites to include new entrants, among the authors of Gṛḥyasūtra-s and Dharmasūtra-s /Smṛti-s. The after-effects of this trend can be seen in the Manusmṛti also. There, immediately after introducing the pañcamahāyajña-s, alternative names for all the five components are given. These names too are based on the nature of main offerings made in the rites.

अहुतं च हुतं चैव तथा प्रहुतमेव च। ब्राह्म्यं हुतं प्राशितं च पञ्चयज्ञान् प्रचक्षते।। जपोऽहुतो हुतो होमो प्रहुतो भौतिको बिलः ब्राह्म्यं हुतं द्विजाग्र्याची प्राशितं पितृतर्पणम्।। (६.७३,७४)

Ahuta, huta, prahuta, brāhmya huta and prāśita are the new names given . Ahuta is the brahmayajña. Huta is offering into fire. Prahuta is baliharaṇa (offerings not into fire). Brāhmya huta comprises feeding of Brahmins. Prāśita is pitrtarpana.

Here it can be seen that while equating the components of *vaiśvadeva* with the members of *huta* series, some interesting discrepancies have occurred.

The brahmayajña which does not consist of any offering into fire - does not even require fire for its performance - is also included in the huta series. The huta series

For instance, cf. पञ्च वा एते महायज्ञाः सतिति प्रतायन्ते सतिति सन्तिष्ठन्ते देवयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो भूतयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञः (Taittiriya Āraṇyaka); पञ्चैव महायज्ञाः। तान्येव महासत्राणि। भूतयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञः पितृयज्ञो देवयज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञ इति। (Śatapathabrāhmaṇa); अथातः पञ्चयज्ञाः। देवयज्ञो भूतयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञ इति। (Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra)

त्रयः पाकयज्ञाः। हुता अग्नौ हूयमाना अनग्नौ प्रहुता ब्राह्मणभोजने ब्रह्मणि हुताः। (\overline{A} svalāyanagṛhyas \overline{u} tra 1.1.2-3)

primarily consisted of three rites to be performed in /with the domestic fire, as is indicated by the $\overline{Asvalayanagrhyas\overline{u}tra}$.

The pitṛyajña originally (or in the earlier phases) comprised two components — feeding Brahmins and the piṇḍa / water offering. The part of feeding Brahmins was given the status of an independent yajña as manuṣyayajña. In doing so, the age-old custom of honouring/feeding guests (atithipūjana) ¹⁹ was transformed or confined to feeding Brahmins. This adjustment or transformation of atithipūjana into manuṣyayajña caused some confusion among the authors of Gṛḥyasūtra-s as to whether the honouring of guests is confined to Brahmins or not.

The pitṛyajña, which originally had two main components, was reduced to tarpaṇa. But the feeding of Brahmins, which had, by then, become an inevitable part, is seen reappearing or lingering. That is why, in Manu's new scheme, pitṛyajña is named as prāśita. At the same time, tarpaṇa is shown as its essential component. Gautama in his Dharmasūtra states: पितृभ्यश्चोदकदानं यथोत्साहमन्यत् (१.५.५). Haradatta explains this sūtra to mean that 'offering of water' is obligatory in the pitṛyajña and the feeding is desirable²⁰. It is interesting to note that he hastens to add that tarpaṇa is to be offered to gods and ṛṣi-s as well²¹. Uśanas, a later author (of Smṛti) substantiates this view by a verse:

आपो देवगणाः सर्व आपः पितृगणाः स्मृताः। तस्मादप्सु जलं देयं पितृणां दत्तमक्षयम्।। ²²

It may be noted here that tarpaṇa had been believed to please rsi-s also. And it was included in the $brahmayaj\~na$. In the \overline{A} sval \overline{a} yanag $rhyas\overline{u}$ tra, it has been prescribed as part of $brahmayaj\~na^{23}$. In the vedavrata-s - the rites prescribed in the ritualistic

¹⁹ There are many passages in the vedic literature showing the antiquity of *atithip\bar{u}jana*. To cite a few:

i. मोघमन्नं विन्दते अप्रचेताः सत्यं ब्रवीमि वध इत्स तस्य। नार्यमणं पुष्यित नो सखायं केवलाघो भवित केवलादी। (*Rgveda* 10.117.6)

ii. यथातिथय आगताय सर्पिष्वदातिथ्यं क्रियते तादृगेव तत् (Taittirīya Saṃhitā 5.2.2.4)

iii. याविद्भर्वे राजानुचरैरागच्छित सर्वेभ्यो वै तेभ्य आतिथ्यं क्रियते। (Taittirīya Saṃhitā 6.2.1.2)

iv. वैश्वानरः प्रविशति अतिथिर्ब्राह्मणो गृहान्। (Kaṭhopaniṣat 1.7)

v. न कञ्चन वसतौ प्रत्याचक्षीत। तद्व्रतम्। (Taittirīya Upaniṣat 3.10.1)

 $^{^{20}}$ पितृभ्यो नित्यमुदकं दद्यात्। अन्यद् भोजनफलमूलादि यथाशक्ति दद्यात्। ($Gautamadharmas \overline{u}tra~1.5.5$)

²¹ अत्र चकारान्नित्यं देवर्षीणामिप तर्पणं कर्तव्यमिति दिशतम्। (Gautamadharmas ūtra 1.5.5)

²² Quoted by Haradatta in his commentary on $Gautamadharmas \overline{u}tra$ 1.5.5

²³ देवतास्तर्पयित प्रजापतिर्ब्रह्मा वेदा देवा ऋषयः सर्वाणि छन्दांस्योंकारो वषट्कारोरक्षांसि भूतान्येवमन्तानि।

beginning and ending of the Vedic studies - also tarpaṇa is prescribed by all the authors of Gṛḥyasūtra -s as an inevitable element to propitiate the ṛṣi-s. A similar prescription is seen in the rite of Upākarman as well. Kṛṣṇayajurvedins call it kāṇḍaṛṣitarpaṇa. Sāmavedins have this propitiation of the ṛṣi-s elevated to a higher grade of pūjā. It may be noted that the tarpaṇa prescribed by the authors of Sūtra texts, in the brahmayajña, has been further elaborated by tradition. Thus in the prayoga and paddhati texts, and in practice too, we find that tarpaṇa is offered to many a ṛṣi, especially in the schools of Sāmaveda and ṛgveda. Followers of Baudhāyana school also have an elaborate ṛṣi tarpaṇa in their brahmayajña.

Brahmayajña, the latest addition to the group

Thus from the literature on the vaiśvadeva and the pākayajña-s available in the texts of Kalpasūtra-s it seems that brahmayajña was added to the triad of appeasing gods, feeding fellow beings like animals, birds and other living beings (including gods and goblins), and feeding guests. The propitiation of pitṛ-s - a class of gods²⁴ - had already been added to the triad, as a part of the baliharaṇa, i.e. the second component²⁵. The members of this triad had the common feature of food offerings. This food was prepared in the ritualistic fire. The name 'vaiśvadeva' got attached to this rite of triad as the main objective was to appease all kinds of gods and spirits. The act of pleasing all living beings and other spirits, especially the evil ones, seems to have been developed form this triad. The term baliharaṇa, seen employed as a synonym for vaiśvadeva itself, is an indicator to this.

Brahmayajña is the ritualistic chanting of Veda. For carrying out this, no fire, either gṛhya or śrauta, was necessary. As is indicated by Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the earlier practice was to chant the Veda-s sitting outside the 'grāma'. Even today it is practiced without fire. The injunction of performing outside the 'grāma' is not followed. As we have seen, some authors of Gṛhyasūtra-s like Bharadvāja and Baudhāyana clearly instruct that the ritualistic chanting should be done sitting beside the ritualistic fire (see foot note no. 6). This indicates that brahmayajña was brought in later to this fold.

अथ ऋषयः शर्ताचनो माध्यमो गृत्समदो विश्वामित्रो वामदेवोत्रिर्भरद्वाजो विसष्ठः प्रगाथाः पावमान्यः क्षुद्रसूक्ता महासूक्ता इति। प्रचीनावीती। सुमन्तुजैमिनिवैशम्पायनपैलसूत्रभाष्यभारतमहाभारतधर्माचार्या .. ये चान्ये आचार्यास्ते सर्वे तृप्यन्त्वित। (Āsvalāyanagrhyasūtra 3.4.1-4)

²⁴ मनोर्हेरण्यगर्भस्य ये मरीच्यादयः सुताः। तेषामृषीणां सर्वेषां पुत्राः पितृगणाः स्मृताः।। (*Manusmṛti* 3.194)

²⁵ अथैतदुबलिशेषमद्भिरभ्यासिच्यापसलिव दक्षिणा निनयेत्तत्पितृभ्यो भवति। (*Gobhilagṛhyasūtra* 1.4.12)

What is the objective of doing brahmayajña? What could have been the goal behind which prompted the earliest practitioners or the theorists to formulate such a practice? From whence this belief that uttering vedamantra-s would bring in good results might have begun? From whence the practice of uttering of vedamantra-s as an expiatory measure, might have come into existence? These questions are pertinent and need to be answered.

The earlier texts dealing with, or rather ordaining the practice of $brahmayaj\tilde{n}a$, might be of help in exploring in these lines. The Taittiriya $\overline{A}ranyaka$, $\underline{S}atapathabrahmana$ and $\overline{A}\underline{S}valayanagrhyas\overline{u}tra$ are the earliest sources of $brahmayaj\tilde{n}a$. Even among these, the second chapter of Taittiriya $\overline{A}ranyaka$ is the earliest one.

The Taittiriya Āranyaka contains a brief narration of the five great sacrifices, a description of practicing brahmayajña, intermixing with explanations and justifications with stories, as is the wont style with the Brāhmana texts, extolling its practice by identifying it with great $y\bar{a}ga$ -s, extolling its efficacy in pleasing gods²⁶ and *pitt*-s²⁷ and in expiating sins ²⁸. The *Śatapathabrāhmana* (Mādhyandina recension 11.5.6) and \overline{A} śval \overline{a} yanagrhyas \overline{u} tra also contain all these elements. \overline{A} śval \overline{a} yanagrhyas \overline{u} tra closely follows Taittiriya Āranyaka. The Śatapathabrāhmana has some slight deviations and additions. It has a separate section (the very next one) extolling the performance of brahmayajña the tenor of which clearly indicates its posteriority. The section is called svādhyāyapraśamsākhyam brāhmanam. The passage begins as 'अथात: स्वाध्यायप्रशंसा। प्रिये स्वाध्यायप्रवचने भवतः। युक्तमना भवति। अपराधीनोऽहरहरर्थान् साधयते। सुखं स्वपिति। परमचिकित्सक आत्मनो प्रज्ञावृद्धिः। यशोलोकपक्तिः। वर्धमाना इन्द्रियसंयमश्च। एकारामता प्रज्ञा च। धर्मान्ब्राह्मणमभिनिष्पादयति। ब्रह्मण्यं प्रतिरूपचर्यां यशोलोकपित्तम्। लोकः पच्यमानश्चतुर्भिर्धर्मैर्ब्राह्मणं भूनिक्त -अर्चया च दानेन चाज्येयतया चावध्यतया च।'. This is a list of unfailing benefits alluring the aspirant. The list itself, especially the members like *indrivasamyama* (control of senses), ekārāmatā (ability to enjoy the serenity of solitude) and the set of four given at the end, indicate the later nature of the passage. Again, at the end of this section, there is a poetic passage which expresses that a Brahmin should have the svādhyāya as inevitable and inherent natural act just as the stars keep on moving, just as water keeps on flowing (यन्ति वा आपः। एत्यादित्यः। यन्ति नक्षत्राणि। यथा ह वा एता देवता नेयुर्न कुर्युः। एवं हैतदहर्ब्राह्मणो भवति। यदहः स्वाध्यायं नाधीते। तस्मात्स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः। तस्मादिप ऋचं वा यजूर्वा साम वा गाथां वा कुम्ब्यां वाभिव्याहरेत।

²⁶ यद्चोऽधीते पयआहुतिभिरेव तद् देवाँस्तर्पयति ...

²⁷ यद्चोऽधीते पयसः कूल्या अस्य पितृन् स्वधा अभिवहन्ति ...

²⁸ ताभिः क्षुधं पाप्मानमपाघ्नन्।

व्रतस्याविच्छेदाय।). Thus the whole section indicates to a later date. Moreover it (i.e. Śatapathabrāhmaṇa) does not speak anything about the technical details regarding performance of brahmayajña.

The Taittiriya Āraṇyaka describes the details of performing brahmayajña, which is closely followed by the Āśvalāyanagṛḥyasūtra. Other Gṛḥyasūtra texts also follow suit with slight variation in some details. The Taittiriya Āraṇyaka, explains or justifies the prescribed actions as is the style of Brāhmana texts.

How to perform brahmayajña?

The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka gives clear instructions for the ritualistic conduct of brahmayajña / svādhyāya. The time prescribed is early morning, after sunrise. The place is specified as outside the 'grāma', where even the thatched roof of the houses (or 'grāma') is not visible. It should be eastwards or northwards from the 'grāma'. The performer should have his upavīta on the left shoulder. He is to sit cross-legged (with his right foot on the left thigh and left foot on the right thigh) on a huge bunch of darbha grass spread on the floor, holding hands together with right hand on the upper side. Before the actual recitation he has to do ācamana three times, two times touching (his lips), and touching (his) head, eyes, ears, nostrils, and recite the mantra 'om'. Then he is to recite the three vyāhṛti-s (the mantra-s bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ and svaḥ) intermixed with the gāyatrīmantra with savitṛ as its devatā. The gāyatrīmantra should be uttered like this: first, each quarter separately, then each half separately, and then the whole as a single unit. Then he has to resume the veda-recitation from where he had stopped (the previous day). This recitation is to be followed by paridhānīyā ṛk (the mantra 'oṃ namō brahmaṇe etc.'). After returning home he is to give away something as dakṣiṇā.

The origin of brahmayajña

In addition the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka*, in the beginning, as a prefatory passage, narrates the origin of *brahmayajña*. This is called an *upākhyāna* by Sāyaṇa. The story goes like this: 'The Pṛśni²⁹-s, a group of holy sages, who are said to have been created at the beginning of creation (*kalpādi*) were doing penance. Then the *Brahman*, the self-originated approached (manifested before) them. By its grace, the Pṛśni-s could see the

²⁹ Sāyaṇa explains the term as 'white, devoid of impurities by birth itself' ते च पृश्नयः शुक्लाः स्वरूपेणैव निर्मलाः सन्तोऽपि पुनस्तप आचरन्।

brahmayajña. Then they performed it. The recitation of different branches of the Veda got transformed into different offerings like ghee, honey, milk and meat for gods. Gods were ridden of the sin of hunger and they attained heaven. The rṣi-s, i. e. the Pṛśni-s got identified with the Brahman. 30

Brahmayajña the sin-expeller

The text states the eradication of all kinds of debts and sins and absolute freedom to traverse all the worlds as the prime and unfailing efficacy of performing $brahmayaj\tilde{n}a$. By citing an old couplet (rk^{31}) , it substantiates this. As if not satisfied with this it extols the efficacy of $sv\bar{a}dhy\bar{a}ya$ to remove all kinds of sins by narrating a story. 'Agni' was afflicted by sin, right at his birth. Then gods removed it by offerings $(\bar{a}huti)$. The impurities of the offerings were removed by $dak\sin\bar{a}$. $Dak\sin\bar{a}$ in turn was purified by Brahmins. Brahmins were purified by the Veda-s (vedamantra-s). The vedamantra-s were purified by ritualistic (daily) recitation — i.e. $sv\bar{a}dhy\bar{a}ya$. Thus $sv\bar{a}dhy\bar{a}ya$, i.e. $brahmayaj\tilde{n}a$, is a purifier par excellence which, caused purification of even fire the universal purifier³². Thus $sv\bar{a}dhy\bar{a}ya$ has got the efficacy to purify even gods.

Thus it can be seen that the origin of the concept of brahmayajña is an expiatory act to remove sins. This is corroborated by the fact that this whole section of *Taittiriya* Aranyaka dealing with the pañcamahāyajña-s comes immediately after the enunciation of kūśmānda mantra-s as well as the narration of their power to remove severest of sins (यदर्वाचीनमेनो भ्रुणहत्यायास्तस्मान्मोक्ष्यध्व इति). Even the next section, immediately following the section on pañcamahāyajña, deals with expiatory rites. Similar is the case with the Śatapathabrāhmana text. section following There the next the svādhyāyapraśamsābrāhmaṇa deals with expiatory rites. It named Sarvaprāyaścittavidhāyakabrāhmana.

It seems that in course of time brahmayajña, the last entrant to the group of pañcamahāyajña-s got prominence. And the five were called great sacrifices. In the earlier sources of brahmayajña itself there were attempts to equate it with yajña-s. In order to extol its efficiency it was placed in a higher pedestal by saying that it can

³⁰ अजान् ह वै पृश्नींस्तपस्यमानान् ब्रह्म स्वयम्भ्वभ्यानर्षत्त ऋषयोऽज्ञवन्तदृषीणामृषित्वम् तान्देवतामुपातिष्ठन्त यज्ञकामास्त एतं ब्रह्मयज्ञमपश्यन् तमाहरन् तेनायजन्त ताभिः क्षुधं पाप्मानमपाघ्नन्नपहतपाप्मानो देवाः स्वर्गं लोकमायन् ब्रह्मणः सायुज्यमृषयोऽगच्छन् (तै. आ. २.९)

³¹ तदेषाभ्युक्ता। अनृणा अस्मिन्ननृणाः परस्मिस्तृतीये लोके अनृणाः स्याम। ये देवयाना उत पितृयाणाः सर्वान्पथो अनृणा आक्षीयेम।।

³² अग्निं वै जातं पाप्मा जग्राह तं देवा आहुतीभिः पाप्मानमपाघ्नन् आहुतीनां यज्ञेन यज्ञस्य दक्षिणाभिर् दक्षिणानां ब्राह्मणेन ब्राह्मणस्य छन्दोभिश्छन्दसाँ स्वाध्यायेन अपहतपाप्मा स्वाध्यायः देवपवित्रम्।

always be performed irrespective of the place etc. in contrast with the usual learning/chanting of Veda-s, which had some restrictions like *anadhyāyaniyama*. And all the five were called great sacrifices just to extol their efficacy³³.

Manu on the purpose of performing pañcamahāyajña-s

The efficiency of *brahmayajña* to eradicate sins was extended to others in the group as well. When Manu³⁴ says 'A householder has five slaughter-houses (as it were, viz.) the hearth, the grinding-stone, the broom, the pestle and mortar, the water-vessel. By using which he is bound (with fetters of sin), this efficacy can be seen praised. But when he specifies five household utilities as causes of sins, it seems, as though, some other streams of thought have made a distinct impact on this ancient concept. The streams may be those of the non-Vedic traditions of Buddhism and Jainism.

How does the chanting of Vedamantra-s propitiate the pitr-s

All the earlier sources of *brahmayajña* invariably commend the capacity of *brahmayajña* in propitiating the *pitṛ*-s³⁶. What would have been the reason behind such a thought. Who are the *pitṛ*-s? Are they the deceased forefathers or a separate class of beings like *kinnara*-s, *gandharva*-s, *rakṣases* etc? Vedic tradition gives room to think that they are both³⁷. But what was the origin of the concept? In any case what was the origin

 $[\]overline{A}$ The \overline{A} pastambadharmas \overline{u} tra hints at this by the $s\overline{u}$ tra तेषां महायज्ञा महासत्राणीति च संस्तुतिः (1.4.14). For more details see Haradatta's commentary.

³⁴ पञ्च सूना गृहस्थस्य चुल्ली पेषण्युपस्करः। कण्डनी चोदकुम्भश्च बध्यते यास्तु वाहयन्।। तासां क्रमेण सर्वासां निष्कृत्यर्थं महर्षिभिः। पञ्च क्लृप्ता महायज्ञाः प्रत्यहं गृहमेधिनाम्।। अध्यापनं ब्रह्मयज्ञाः पितृयज्ञस्तु तर्पणम्। होमो दैवो बलिभौतो नृयज्ञोऽतिथिपूजनम्।। पञ्चैतान् यो महायज्ञान्न हापयित शक्तितः। स गृहेऽपि वसन्नित्यं सूनादोषैर्न लिप्यते।। (६.६८-७१)

³⁵ Translation George Buhler's, Sacred Books of East, Vol. 25, p.87

 $^{^{36}}$ यदृचोऽधीते पयसः कूल्या अस्य पितॄन् स्वधा अभिवहन्ति (Taittiriya $\overline{A}ranyaka$); घृतकुल्या मधुकुल्याः पितॄन् स्वधा अभिवहन्ति। (Satapathabrāhmaṇa); यदृचोऽधीते पयसः कुल्या अस्य पितॄन्स्वधा उपक्षरन्ति ... अमृतस्य कुल्याः। (\overline{A} svalāyanagṛhyas \overline{u} tra)

Manusmṛti states that Pitṛgaṇa-s originated from sages.
मनोहैंरण्यगर्भस्य ये मरीच्यादयः सुताः। तेषामृषीणां सर्वेषां पुत्राः पितृगणाः स्मृताः।। (३.१९४)

of this concept that recitation of Veda can please the *pitṛ*-s? In the practice of chanting *vedamantra*-s to please the *pitṛ*-s when the Brahmins officiating as *pitṛ*-s partake food in a śrāddha, which prevails even today, only *mantra*-s pertaining to *pitṛ*-s and the those describing stories and legends of killing *rakṣaṣ*es are recited and not all the *Vedamantra*-s in general. If we turn to the concept and custom of performing śrāddha it is still more complicated ³⁸. This aspect, i. e. the origin of the concept that reciting Veda would propitiate the *pitṛ*-s, needs to be probed into.

Why outside the grāma?, What is a grāma?

The Taittiriya Āraṇyaka and the Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra ordain that the brahmayajña should be performed outside the grāma, in a place where even the thatched roof of the grāma is not visible³⁹. Later authors do not specify this. Some, as already pointed out, like Baudhāyana and Bharadvāja on the contrary state that it should be performed sitting besides the ritualistic fire. The text of Taittiriya Āraṇyaka, afterwards, while praising the efficacy of brahmayajña, states that it can be performed anywhere as it is beyond any restriction whatsoever. It is the performance that counts and the violation of rules can be overlooked.

Why is it ordained that $brahmayaj\tilde{n}a$ should be performed outside the $gr\bar{a}ma$? Is it because the time of composition of the text was that of formation of $\overline{Aranyaka}$ —s? There is no any indication for affirmation or negation. The reason has to be searched for.

Now what is meant by $gr\bar{a}ma$? The term appears in many Vedic passages of later origin. Usually it appears as the opposite of aranya (the forest)⁴⁰. Hence it can be taken for a village. But what were the social and cultural boundaries and dimensions of these? When we go through the later Vedic texts and the texts of $kalpas\bar{u}tra$ we confront many such intricate and interesting issues.

Apastamba, in his *Dharmasūtra*, while describing the rules for *vedādhyayana*, ordains that it should not be done in a *grāma*, where there is a dead body; where there is

Yājñavalkya explicitly states that *Pitṛ*-s are a group or class of gods. He says वसुरुद्रादितिसुताः पितरः श्राद्धदेवताः। प्रीणयन्ति मनुष्याणां पितृञ्छ्राद्धेन तर्पिताः।

³⁸ There are many kind of śrāddha-s, as aṣṭakāśrāddha, māsikaśrāddha, mahālayaśrāddha, sapiṇḍākaraṇaśrāddha, darśaśrāddha, and nāndāśrāddha, to cite a few. Nibandha texts speak of 64 kinds of śrāddha-s (ṣaṇṇavatiśrāddha-s) to be performed in a year.

³⁹ अछिदर्दशें is the word employed for this.

⁴⁰ Cf. ग्राम्यं वा एतदन्नं यद्दध्यारण्यं मधु। ; उभयान् पशूनालभते। ग्राम्याँश्चारण्याँश्च ; ग्राम्यैरेव पशुभिरिमं लोकमवारुन्थ। आरण्यैरमुम्।; आरण्यान् ग्राम्याश्च ये।; ग्राम्याश्च मे पशव आरण्याश्च यज्ञेन कल्पन्ताम्।

a $c\bar{a}nd\bar{a}la$; in which outsiders like ugra and $nis\bar{a}da$ have entered etc⁴¹. These stipulations remind one of the $agrah\bar{a}ra$ -s of medieval India. But the text belongs to the age of $Kalpas\bar{u}tra$ -s and the $Br\bar{a}hman$ -s. What actually were the geographical, social and cultural boundaries of a $gr\bar{a}ma$ during those times? It needs to be looked into.

Conclusion

The concept of pañcamahāyajña-s is closely associated and intertwined with that of vaiśvadeva. Both these are very old concepts. The vaiśvadeva rite comprised three components viz. propitiating gods (devayajña), propitiating all fellow beings (bhūtayajña), and feeding guests (manusyayajña). The rite of offering water / pinda to propitiate the pitr-s was included as an extension of propitiating fellow beings. The concept and custom of propitiating the pitr-s underwent many transformations. The concept and custom of śrāddha is an allied issue which also is very old and underwent many transformations. These four rites, viz. devayajña, bhūtayajña, manusyayajña and pitryajña were brought under one head of vaiśvadeva. The common feature of these rites is that food, which is essential for all these were prepared in ritualistic fire. The brahmayajña, which has its roots in the concept of rnatraya, as an act of repaying the rsi-rna, is the last entrant to this group. Its origin seems to be based on expiatory speculations or speculations and customs based on the concept of sin and the ways and means to escape from their adversary results. Thus the concept of five sacrifices came into being. The Taittiriya Aranyaka preserves some of the early ideas and customs of practicing brahmayajña. The brahmayajña, which is often called svādhyāya, is the ritualistic recitation of vedamantra-s. Right with the origin of the concept of this ritualistic recitation, the idea or the belief that the utterance of vedamantra-s would please the gods and the pitr-s had come into prevalence. The origin of such a belief is to be sought into. It is curious that the ritualistic recitation of vedamantra-s was not permitted inside the house or the civilized settlements. It was to be performed outside the grāma. This takes us to the question as to what was meant by grāma during the days of the formation of Brāhmaṇa texts and the Kalpasūtra works. A careful and serious look into the geographical, social, political and cultural boundaries and dimensions of grāma would definitely be worth-undertaking.

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⁴¹ अन्तश्शवम् (१.३.४); अन्तश्चाण्डालम् (१.३.५); तदहरागतेषु च ग्रामं बाह्येषु (१.३.१८)

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